FBI File: SDS/WUO

FBI File on the Students for a Democratic Society
and the
Weatherman Underground Organization

NOTE TO RESEARCHER

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THE STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS), a progressive, radical reformist student group, grew from the ranks of the League for Industrial Democracy (LID), whose own student group, the Student League for Industrial Democracy (SLID), had become all but defunct by the end of the 1950s. The new name was adopted formally by SLID leaders in January 1960. Under new Field Secretary Robert Alan Haber, a University of Michigan graduate student, SDS established a national office in New York and began to organize itself as a fringe political group within American academe by the end of the 1961-62 school year.

As the organization attracted new members, both Haber and subsequent Field Secretary Tom Hayden grew increasingly frustrated with the control the parent LID exerted. In particular, LID leadership insisted that SDS require a strict anti-Communist platform to ensure funding. Haber and Hayden, among others within SDS, believed that the organization should be more open-ended and include anyone, of any political persuasion, who was interested in reviving the ideals of participatory democracy both within the universities and the larger American society. The leaders began to draft proposals for the reorganization of SDS on its own terms.

At its 1962 national convention in Port Huron, Michigan, SDS drafted what came to be known as *The Port Huron Statement*, which served the twin purposes of creating a new manifesto and for estranging the parent LID. Written primarily by Haber, *The Port Huron Statement* defined SDS as

> an association of young people on the left. It seeks to create a sustained community of educational and political concern: one bringing together liberals and radicals, activists and scholars, students and faculty. It maintains a vision of a democratic society, where at all levels the people have control of the decisions which affect them and the resources on which they are dependent.

The Port Huron meeting also scrapped the former LID rule excluding Communists, and took the United States to task for its involvement in and, in the SDS view, unnecessary protraction of the Cold War.

Espousing a platform of academic reform, SDS was strongly against "university complicity" with the U.S. government via open recruiting on campus by government agencies and weapons manufacturers. SDS promoted civil rights activism and a forceful and disobedient opposition to the Vietnam War, and took universities to task for investing in South Africa. The group grew from 200 members in 1960 to 2,000 members in seventy loosely organized chapters throughout the country in 1965. By 1966, SDS swelled to 5,000 members and was actively demonstrating on college campuses.

SDS had been monitored by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) as early as 1962, but SDS involvement in the April 1965 Student March on Washington against the Vietnam War caught the Johnson administration off guard, and the order to monitor SDS activities followed swiftly. The Bureau investigation centered in Chicago, where SDS had established its national office on 1103 E. 63rd Street, in the heart of the ghetto. Bureau attempts to gain information included, but by no means were limited to, requests of university administrators to release files of known student activists to special agents, electronic surveillance, so-called "mail covers," active recruitment of campus informants, and "blind memorandums" to "friendly newspaper sources" who routinely questioned

the activists' behavior, dress, sexual proclivities, and whether or not SDS was part of a larger international conspiracy (with the implication that SDS was a Communist-front organization).

That same implication ten years earlier might have had the intended effect of driving members away from SDS. Yet the FBI could find no hard evidence of outside influence or control of SDS, even though many of its leaders were espousing the radical thinking of Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Mao, Castro, and Che Guevara. Because SDS had none of the traditional hallmarks of foreign control or influence, they were classified as part of what became known as the "New Left."

SDS grew wildly as the FBI tried to sort out the group's ideology. Campus demonstrations in the 1967-68 school year rose sharply, and culminated in the campus takeover of Columbia University in April 1968 by SDS and other student groups. This action gained national attention, and spurred FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover to order a Bureau-wide campaign to disrupt and discredit the leadership of SDS: The counterintelligence program on the New Left, directed by William C. Sullivan, began in earnest.

At the SDS national convention in East Lansing, Michigan, in June 1968 two distinct groups formed within SDS. One, known as the "praxis axis," was attempting to formulate a radical SDS ideology, which members had to follow to belong; the other, known as the "action faction," believed that the time for SDS to demonstrate forcefully and violently had come, and that theory would have to wait. For the "action faction," nothing short of the active overthrow of the Establishment was warranted.

The defining moment of SDS occurred during the 1968 Democratic national convention in Chicago. If there were any students left who hoped that the modern American political process would save itself, they were thoroughly disillusioned by the time Senator Hubert Humphrey was given the party's nomination. After the assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy and Senator Eugene McCarthy's loss to Humphrey, no national candidate who appealed to the large student antiwar movement remained to run for president. Angered by the political process and subjected to the brutal, nationally televised tactics of the Chicago police department, riots in the streets of Chicago ensued.

One year later in Chicago, the SDS national convention was the forum for the breakup of the powerful organization, which had grown to an estimated 80,000 members by the end of 1968. In the June 18, 1969, issue of the SDS's *New Left Notes*, the "action faction," led by Bernadine Dohrn, set forth its position in an article entitled, "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows," which maintained, as Castro had said, that it was the duty of revolutionaries to make revolution. They were opposed by the "praxis axis," which at that time controlled the national office and was led by Michael Klonsky, and believed that revolution, though desirable, was not possible at the time, and that the emphasis of SDS should be on organizing and political consciousness-raising. Another faction known as the Worker-Student Alliance (which was part of the Maoist Progressive Labor Party) advocated a broad-based class struggle. At the convention, both Klonsky's and Dohrn's groups joined to oust the WSA/PLP faction. In the subsequent election, however, Dohrn and the "action faction" gained the leadership of SDS. Klonsky and the "praxis axis" then walked out of the convention and formed the Revolutionary Youth Movement II. SDS would never be the same.

The various factions did come together under the banner of SDS in the summer and fall of 1969, most notably during the October "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago. Opposition to the Vietnam War and societal reform were not in question, but the ways and means to achieve those ends were. Dohrn's group, which was calling itself the Weathermen (later known as the Weather Underground), captured the interest of the FBI when many of them did not show up for their trials after being arrested for rioting in Chicago. The Weathermen formally closed the SDS national office in February 1970, and many of its leaders went underground by the end of the month to begin a campaign of violent disruption and overthrow of the U.S. government. Although a few symbolic bombings, particularly of police property, had occurred in the fall of 1969, a more serious wave of bombings began upon the announcement of underground status. Targets included the headquarters of the New York City police department, the Bank of America Building in New York, the ITT Building in New York, the Haymarket Police Statue in Chicago (in 1969 and 1970), and the U.S. Capitol. Three Weathermen activists were killed in March 1970 when their "bomb factory" in New York's Greenwich Village accidentally exploded. The Weathermen bombing movement became more sporadic as the 1970s progressed; the last major target was the State Department in 1975. The FBI finally penetrated a Weathermen "cell" in Los Angeles in 1977, which ended any effective Weathermen resistance. Other activists gradually surfaced after years of fugitive status.

Political fallout from the investigation of SDS and the Weathermen came one year later, when then-Acting Director L. Patrick Gray, Acting Associate Director W. Mark Felt, and Assistant Director Edward S. Miller were indicted for authorizing burglaries by Bureau personnel of Weather Underground associates and relatives after J. Edgar Hoover's death in May 1972. Hoover, who had sensed the political mood of the country and distrusted Nixon administration officials, had curtailed such operations against the New Left activists for fear of exposure of the FBI, despite mounting political pressure prior to his death to crush the antiwar movement. Hoover purged COINTELPRO masterminds William C. Sullivan and Charles D. Brennan in 1971 for their attempts to expand government surveillance without his approval.

The FBI File on SDS and the Weathermen spans the years from 1962 to 1977, and is divided into seventy-five sections arranged in rough chronological order. The file also includes a section entitled "June Mail," which deals with electronic and telephone surveillance of SDS by the FBI from as early as 1965, and a 400-page August 1976 report entitled "Foreign Influence — Weather Underground." The types of documents included are Bureau memorandums, teletypes, airtels, and newspaper clippings. A good selection of SDS-produced materials, including copies of *New Left Notes*, and the Weather Underground magazine *Osawatomie*, is also included.

The documents reproduced here were drawn from the Washington files of the FBI and have been released under the Freedom of Information Act; certain documents or portions of documents have been deleted by the FBI pursuant to provisions of that legislation. The material has been filmed in the exact order and condition in which it was released.

The roll notes that follow this introduction do not provide a complete inventory of the file; however, they give an indication of the types of materials available for research. They are listed using the following format: Type of document, date of document, sender and recipient (where applicable), and what the document concerns.

Terry Lynch
Microfilm Editor

ROLL NOTES

FBI File on Students for a Democratic Society and the Weatherman Underground Organization

Bureau File Number 100-439048
(Domestic Security Investigation)

Section 1 **Roll 1, 0007-0190**
March 1962 - February 1965

Memo 3/10/62 from Director to Special Agent-in-Charge (SAC), New York, requesting review of information that the Communist Party is attempting to infiltrate Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)
Memo 7/12/63 from W. C. Sullivan to F. J. Baumgardner regarding information about SDS convention at Camp Gulliver, Pine Hill, New York, including a list of those in attendance
Agenda for 1963 SDS Convention
Memo 10/4/63 from Director to SAC, Detroit, regarding Michigan students involved in Student Peace Union demonstration, 10/19/63
Memo dated 12/30/63 from SAC, New York to Director relating to the SDS
Memo 3/27/64 from SAC, Louisville to Director regarding SDS-sponsored Student-Miners' Conference on Jobs and Poverty, Hazard, Kentucky, 3/26-29/64
Memo 9/1/64 from Director to SAC, New York, authorizing "discreet" investigation of SDS personnel to determine any affiliation with subversive or Communist organizations
SDS pamphlet, "Revolution in Mississippi," dated January 1962
Memo 1/15/65 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding information concerning the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America and the SDS
Memo 1/12/65 from SAC, New York to Director regarding plans for an SDS-sponsored march on Washington, 4/17/65
Letter 1/21/65 from Clyde Tolson to Bill Moyers, special assistant to the president, regarding the march on Washington, 4/17/65

Section 2 **Roll 1, 0191-0344**
February - March 1965

Memo 2/24/65 from SAC, Chicago to Director recommending against an investigation of the SDS; includes report on Chicago demonstration protesting Vietnam War, 2/19/65
Memo 3/2/65 from SAC, Detroit to Director regarding SDS-sponsored student action against American economic support of South African apartheid, 3/19/65
Memo 3/19/65 from F. J. Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan regarding nationwide demonstration against South African investment
Memo from SAC, New York to Director regarding 3/19/65 protest
Report 3/23/65 from New York regarding SDS; includes organization, aims and purposes, activities, and lists of officers

Section 3 **Roll 1, 0345-0383**
March - April 1965

Memo 4/8/65 regarding the Student March on Washington, 4/17/65
SDS-produced pamphlets relating to the Student March on Washington, 4/17/65

Section 4 **Roll 1, 0384-0428**

April 1965

Memo 4/27/65 from F. J. Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan regarding a planned civil disobedience campaign against the Vietnam War conducted by the SDS

Radiogram 4/29/65 from Director to all SACs authorizing investigation "to identify all chapters of [the SDS] within your division, the identity of officers and members of each chapter, and the current activities and future plans of it."

Section 5 **Roll 1, 0429-0524**

April - May 1965

Memo 4/29/65 regarding memo to Marvin Watson, special assistant to the president, detailing the background of the SDS

Teletype 5/7/65 from New York field office to Director regarding antiwar demonstrations held at Columbia University, 5/7/65

Memo 5/4/65 from F. J. Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan summarizing current and planned antiwar demonstrations

Memo 5/19/65 from Director to the attorney general regarding the SDS, requesting whether information enclosed constitutes a violation of the sedition statutes

Memo 5/18/65 from F. J. Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan regarding formation of SDS "Crisis Committee"

Memo 5/21/65 from F. J. Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan regarding shift of SDS national headquarters from New York to Chicago; includes background information on Charles Clark Kissinger, Jr., SDS national secretary

Section 6 **Roll 1, 0525-0645**

May - June 1965

Memo 5/25/65 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding SDS assertion that contributions to SDS would be tax-exempt

Memo 5/25/65 from SAC, New York to Director regarding Kenneth Paul Potter of SDS

Memo 5/20/65 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding recent information on SDS, including activities

Memo 5/25/65 from F. J. Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan regarding House Committee on Un-American Activities hearings in Chicago

Teletype 6/4/65 from SAC, Chicago to Director and SAC, Detroit regarding SDS national convention to be held at Camp Maplehurst, Kewadin, Michigan, 6/9-13/65

Memo 6/7/65 from SAC, Chicago to Director containing excerpts of television program, "Off the Cuff"

Memo 6/17/65 from M. A. Jones to Mr. DeLoach regarding information on Carl Ogelsby, SDS president, and Jeffrey Shero, SDS vice president

Section 7 **Roll 1, 0646-0667**

June 1965

Memo 6/17/65 from F. J. Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan regarding Clark Kissinger Jr.'s speech at the SDS national convention urging draft resistance

Section 8 **Roll 1, 0668-0726**

June - July 1965

Memo 6/28/65 from J. A. Sizon to W. C. Sullivan regarding "The Project," a merger of youth organizations including SDS

Memo 6/3/65 from F. J. Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan regarding Clark Kissinger's "Kissinger Project" to force a political trial between the U.S. government and SDS
Memo 7/1/65 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding newspaper interview with Clark Kissinger

Section 9 **Roll 1, 0727-0824**
July 1965
Teletype 7/7/65 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding SDS protest at Chicago area draft boards
Memo 7/9/65 from M. A. Jones to Mr. DeLoach summarizing events at the 1965 SDS national convention
Memo 7/30/65 from S. J. Papich to D. J. Brennan, Jr., including SDS-produced literature
Memo 7/30/65 from F. J. Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan regarding alleged recruiting by SDS for individuals to fight for the Viet Cong

Section 10 **Roll 1, 0825-1068**
July - August 1965
Memo 8/3/65 from F. J. Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan regarding current and planned SDS activity
Memo 7/8/65 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding the Committee for Non-Violent Action (CNVA) and SDS
Report 8/31/65 from Chicago regarding summarizing investigation of SDS to date

Section 11 **Roll 1, 1069-1169**
August - October 1965
Teletype 8/30/65 from SAC, Chicago to Director reporting meeting of SDS national council at McCormick Creek State Park, Bloomington, Indiana, 9/6-9/65
Memo 9/9/65 from M. A. Jones to Mr. DeLoach regarding Ross Wilhelm, associate professor at the University of Michigan
Memo 9/14/65 from F. J. Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan regarding "International Days of Protest" (10/15-16/65) against the Vietnam War
Memo 10/21/65 from Director to the attorney general regarding possible SDS violations of the Selective Service Act
Teletype 10/10/65 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding International Days of Protest
Memo 10/20/65 from J. A. Sizon to W. C. Sullivan regarding dissemination of FBI reports on SDS to other branches of the government

Section 12 **Roll 1, 1170-1357**
October - December 1965
Report 10/25/65 from Chicago summarizing investigation to date
Memo 10/22/65 from F. J. Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan recommending a more in-depth investigation of SDS; includes report entitled, "Students for a Democratic Society"
Teletype 11/1/65 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding 10/31/65 SDS workshop on the draft
Memo 11/8/65 from F. J. Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan regarding comments by Dr. Wilson Elkins, president of the University of Maryland
Report 12/10/65 entitled "Demonstrations Protesting United States Intervention in Viet Nam"
Memo 12/14/65 from F. J. Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan regarding planned coverage of SDS national convention at the University of Illinois, Champaign, Illinois, 12/27-31/65

Section 13 **Roll 1, 1358-1480**
December 1965
Report 12/17/65 from Chicago summarizing investigation to date
Memo 12/22/65 regarding the SDS national conference

Section 14 **Roll 1, 1481-1667**
December 1965 - February 1966
Memo 12/28/65 regarding SDS national conference
Teletype 12/23/65 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding proposed trip by Tom Hayden of SDS to Vietnam
Teletype 1/4/66 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding three proposed SDS programs from the national conference
Report 1/17/66 regarding SDS Vietnam War protests in Chicago
Report 2/16/66 from Chicago summarizing investigation to date

Section 15 **Roll 1, 1668-END Roll 1**
February - April 1966
Memo 3/3/66 from Director to SAC, Chicago requesting field office reports on all SDS chapters to determine extent of "subversive influences and affiliations"
Airtel 3/9/66 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding International Days of Protest, 3/25-26/66
Memo 3/14/66 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding International Days of Protest Against the War in Vietnam, 3/25-26/66; includes some SDS-produced literature
Memo 3/22/66 from SAC, Chicago reporting planned protest activities
Memo 3/30/66 from SAC, Chicago detailing the International Days of Protest demonstration
Radiogram 4/6/66 from Director to SACs ordering coverage of SDS national council meeting at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 4/8-10/66

Section 16 **Roll 2, 0007-0150**
April - May 1966
Memo 4/20/66 from F. J. Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan regarding student newspaper exposures of Bureau investigation of SDS campus branches
Report 4/27/66 from Chicago regarding demonstrations protesting U.S. intervention in Vietnam
Correspondence 4/66 regarding FBI investigation at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut
Memo 5/12/66 from J. H. Gale to Mr. DeLoach regarding SDS plan to disrupt Selective Service testing

Section 17 **Roll 2, 0151-0294**
May 1966
Teletype 5/14/66 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding sit-in at University of Chicago's administration building
Correspondence 5/66 relating to Wesleyan University investigation
Teletypes 5/66 relating to campus protests against supplying student lists to the Selective Service
SDS-produced "National Vietnam Examination"
Teletype 5/27/66 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding continuing demonstration at the University of Chicago

Section 18 **Roll 2, 0295-0499**
May - June 1966
Teletypes, 5/66, regarding Chicago-area campus demonstrations
Report 6/10/66 summarizing investigation

Section 19 **Roll 2, 0500-0678**
June - August 1966
Teletype 6/30/66 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding SDS-sponsored Jobs or Income Now (JOIN) march in Chicago, 6/30/66
Airtel 7/26/66 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding SDS national convention, 8/24/66-9/3/66, at the Methodist Camp Grounds, Clear Lake, Iowa
Memo 8/3/66 from Director to SACs requesting full information about the national convention, including daily summaries of events and activities
Memo 8/2/66 from F. J. Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan recommending exposure of SDS delegates' "immoral behavior" at upcoming convention to discredit the "New Left" movement
Memo 8/11/66 authorizing public source memorandum regarding SDS behavior be furnished to "friendly newspaper sources"
Memo 8/23/66 from SAC, Chicago summarizing recent SDS activities
Memo 8/29/66 from SAC, Chicago regarding demonstrations by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) at Gage Park, Chicago

Section 20 **Roll 2, 0679-0824**
September - October 1966
Report 9/30/66 summarizing investigation to date
Memo 10/31/66 from C. D. DeLoach to Clyde Tolson regarding DeLoach's meeting with Vice President Hubert Humphrey, discussing SDS-sponsored "Black Power Conference," featuring a speech by Stokely Carmichael, 10/29/66, at Berkeley, California

Section 21 **Roll 2, 0825-0945**
October - December 1966
Teletype 10/31/66 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding protest of President Lyndon B. Johnson's visit to Chicago
Report 11/9/66 from Chicago summarizing recent SDS-related activities
Memo 11/10/66 regarding letter critical of FBI in Wesleyan University investigation
Memo 11/22/66 from F. J. Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan regarding recently formed "Anti-Escalation Committee," chaired by A. J. Muste
SDS pamphlet: "High School Reform: Towards a Student Movement"

Section 22 **Roll 2, 0946-1069**
December 1966 - February 1967
Report 12/8/66 from Chicago regarding David Crook
Report 12/8/66 from Chicago regarding Chicago Anti-Draft Committee
Report 1/25/67 from Chicago summarizing SDS activities
Teletype 1/23/67 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding arrest of Paul Booth at Chicago demonstration

Section 23 **Roll 2, 1070-1204**
February 1967
Report 2/10/67 from Chicago summarizing investigation to date

Section 24 **Roll 2, 1205-1314**
February - April 1967
Report 2/15/67 from Chicago summarizing recent SDS activities
Teletypes 3/3/67 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding protests at the University of Illinois-Chicago
Memo 3/9/67 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan summarizing planned antiwar demonstration for the information of the president
Memo ~~3/17/67~~ from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan suggesting FBI counter-campaign against SDS plot "to drive the FBI off campus"
SDS-produced "Anti-Draft Resolution"
Report 4/4/67 from Chicago summarizing recent SDS activities

Section 25 **Roll 2, 1315-1348**
April 1967
SDS-related pamphlets
Memo 4/18/67 to Mr. Gale regarding ~~conscientious objector investigations~~
Report 4/19/67 from Chicago regarding possible bombing of Nike Missile site in Chicago
Memo 4/18/67 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan proposing new characterization of SDS

Section 26 **Roll 2, 1349-1618**
April - June 1967
Memo 5/8/67 from M. A. Jones to Mr. Wick regarding a 33-page blind memorandum about the SDS to be made available to "friendly" newsmen
Memo dated 5/8/67 regarding the Radical Education Project
Report 5/10/67 from Chicago summarizing investigation
Memo 4/17/67 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding Carl George Davidson and the Radical Educational Project (REP)
Report 5/9/67 from Chicago detailing proposed draft card-burning demonstration
Letter 5/17/67 from Hoover regarding Bureau interviews of SDS members
Memo 5/11/67 from M. A. Jones to Mr. Wick regarding a blind memorandum to former SAC Edmund Mason of the Columbus *Dispatch* regarding 1967 SDS convention in Yellow Springs, Ohio
Memo 5/8/67 regarding New Left movement on college and university campuses; includes 80-page memo prepared for "friendly" newsmen
Memo 6/5/67 regarding SDS national convention to be held in Ann Arbor, Michigan

Section 27 **Roll 2, 1619-END Roll 2**
June - August 1967
Report 6/9/67 from Chicago summarizing investigation
Memo 6/19/67 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding surveillance by JOIN of Chicago city policemen
Report 6/12/67 from Chicago regarding anti-urban renewal demonstrations
Memo 7/3/67 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding national convention at Ann Arbor, 6/25-30/67

Memo 6/12/67 from J. J. Casper to Mr. Mohr regarding dissemination of research paper on the Student New Left Movement
Memo 7/13/67 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding debriefing of informants at SDS national convention
Report 7/19/67 from Chicago regarding SDS national convention; includes list of SDS resolutions
Airtel 8/1/67 regarding national conference for draft resistance organizers in Madison, Wisconsin
Memo 8/2/67 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding anti-Vietnam War demonstrations
Report 8/8/67 from Chicago summarizing investigation

Section 28 **Roll 3, 0001-0083**
August - September 1967
Memo 8/8/67 from M. A. Jones to Mr. Bishop regarding revised 32-page Bureau research paper on SDS
Copy of *New Left Notes*, 1/13/67

Section 29 **Roll 3, 0084-0190**
October - November 1967
Report 10/26/67 from Chicago summarizing investigation
Copy of *New Left Notes*, 10/8/67
Teletype 11/5/67 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding planned picketing of Dow Chemical Company employee recruiters at the University of Chicago
Report 11/8/67 summarizing investigation

Section 30 **Roll 3, 0191-0501**
November 1967 - February 1968
Copies of *New Left Notes*, 11/8/67, 11/13/67
Memo 12/5/67 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding change by SDS to more aggressive tactics
Airtel 12/6/67 from SAC, Chicago to Director suggesting use of Bureau informants to cover SDS chapters
Report 12/19/67 summarizing investigation
Memo 1/9/68 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding a prepared memo for the president
Memo 12/19/67 from the postal inspector in charge in Denver to the chief inspector regarding an article found loose in the mails regarding the SDS
Memo 1/16/68 from R. W. Smith to W. C. Sullivan regarding SDS-planned protest, "Ten Days to Shake the Empire," 4/20-30/68
Memo 1/9/68 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding SDS National Council meeting in Bloomington, Indiana, 12/27-31/67
Copy of SDS national constitution, as amended at the 1967 national convention, Ann Arbor, Michigan
Report 1/24/68 from Chicago regarding demonstrations at the University of Illinois Circle Campus (Chicago) and allegations of police brutality, 1/18/68
Report 2/8/68 from Chicago summarizing investigation

Section 31 **Roll 3, 0502-0652**
February - March 1968
Letter from the SDS-sponsored Radical Education Project
Copy of *New Left Notes*, 12/4/67
Report 3/5/68 from Chicago summarizing investigation
Memo 3/15/68 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding possible future intimidation of special agent of the FBI by SDS

Memo 3/20/68 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding SDS conference held at the University of Chicago, 3/16/68
Memo 3/20/68 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding SDS conference held at the University of Chicago, 3/16/68
Copy of *New Left Notes*, 9/4/67

Section 32 **Roll 3, 0653-0850**
March - May 1968
Report 4/12/68 from Chicago regarding SDS-proposed national strike as a tribute to Martin Luther King, Jr., 4/8/68
Airtel from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding ten days of protest and resistance, 4/20-30/68
Report 5/8/68 from Chicago summarizing investigation

Section 33 **Roll 3, 0851-0998**
May - June 1968
Copy of *New Left Notes*, 4/29/68
Memo 5/10/68 from T. E. Bishop to Mr. DeLoach regarding disturbances and violence at Columbia University
Teletype 5/11/68 regarding teach-in held at the University of Chicago
Memo 5/17/68 from C. D. DeLoach to Mr. Tolson regarding telephone call from Drew Pearson
Report 5/27/68 from Chicago regarding 1968 national convention and council meeting at East Lansing, Michigan, 6/9-15/68
Memo 5/22/68 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan detailing SDS plan to tape and photograph interviews between special agents and SDS members
Copy of *New Left Notes*, 5/13/68
Memo 5/29/68 from C. D. DeLoach to Mr. Tolson regarding conversation with Jim Jones, special assistant to the president
Report 6/5/68 from Chicago summarizing investigation
Memo 6/3/68 from M. A. Jones to Mr. Bishop regarding William F. Pyper

Section 34 **Roll 3, 0999-1131**
June - July 1968
Airtel 6/5/68 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding SDS national convention participants
Airtel 6/10/68 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding trip made by SDS leaders to Havana, Cuba
Memo 6/14/68 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding allegations of SDS-planned assassinations at the Democratic national convention in Chicago
Newspaper clippings regarding Hoover's statements about the SDS
Memo 6/20/68 from Hoover regarding conversation with Attorney General Ramsey Clark
Airtel 7/5/68 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding the SDS national convention at East Lansing, Michigan, 6/9-15/68

Section 35 **Roll 3, 1132-1192**
July - August 1968
Memo from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding demonstration at Northern Illinois University, 7/17/68
Copy of *New Left Notes*, 7/28/68
Report 8/13/68 from Chicago detailing SDS-planned protests at the Democratic national convention

Section 36 **Roll 3, 1193-1299**
August 1968
Report 8/8/68 from Chicago summarizing investigation

Section 37 **Roll 3, 1300-1543**
August - October 1968
Copy of *New Left Notes*, 7/29/68
Report 9/5/68 from Chicago summarizing investigation
Copy of *New Left Notes*, 8/19/68
Memo 9/11/68 from SAC, Chicago to Director summarizing SDS activities at the Democratic national convention
Memo 9/21/68 from M. A. Jones to Mr. Bishop regarding CBS request to interview the Director
Copy of *RAT: Subterranean News*, 9/20-10/3/68
Teletype 9/24/68 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding demand by SDS chapter at Northeastern Illinois State College to ban military recruiters from campus
Copy of *New Left Notes*, 9/16/68
Teletype 10/2/68 from Chicago to Director regarding SDS-planned demonstrations to coincide with Tom Hayden's testimony before a congressional subcommittee
Memo 10/7/68 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding demonstration at the Mexican consulate in Chicago, 10/4/68

Section 38 **Roll 3, 1544-END Roll 3**
October 1968
Report 10/17/68 from Chicago to Director summarizing recent SDS activities in the Chicago area
Memo 10/23/68 from Director to SAC, Chicago regarding growing factional dispute within SDS
Teletype 10/24/68 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding SDS-planned demonstrations for the elections, 10/5/68

Section 39 **Roll 4, 0007-0203**
November 1968
Teletype 11/2/68 from Director to the president regarding proposed demonstrations at Washington
Teletype 11/5/68 from SAC, Chicago to Director summarizing recent SDS activities in the Chicago area
Report 11/8/68 from Chicago summarizing investigation
Memo 11/13/68 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding SDS national conference
SDS-produced materials regarding the election of 1968

Section 40 **Roll 4, 0204-0337**
November - December 1968
Report 11/21/68 from Chicago regarding sit-in demonstration at Northeastern Illinois State College
Report 12/10/68 from Chicago detailing Chicago-area SDS branches

Section 41 **Roll 4, 0338-0382**
December 1968 - January 1969
Memo 12/13/68 from SAC, New York to Director regarding the Movement for a Democratic Society (MDS)
Press release 12/12/68 from Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty, calling for a federal investigation of campus turmoil

Memo 1/2/69 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding power struggle between SDS leaders and members of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) during convention in Ann Arbor, Michigan, 12/26-28/68

Section 42 **Roll 4, 0383-0494**
January 1969
Memo 1/10/69 from P. D. Putnam to Mr. D. J. Brennan, Jr., regarding Bruce D. Dancis
Copy of SDS *New Left Notes*, 12/23/68
Report 1/6/69 from Chicago regarding anti-CIA demonstrations
Report 1/7/69 from SAC, Chicago to Director summarizing SDS National Council meeting in Ann Arbor
Report 1/10/69 from SAC, Chicago regarding symposium held at Northwestern University entitled "Confronting Change," 1/3-9/69

Section 43 **Roll 4, 0495-0645**
January - February 1969
Report 1/23/69 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding the National Youth Alliance
Report 2/7/69 from Chicago summarizing investigation

Section 44 **Roll 4, 0646-0820**
February - March 1969
Memo 2/14/69 from T. E. Bishop to Mr. DeLoach concerning advance copy of article about SDS
Copies of SDS *New Left Notes*
Memo 2/5/69 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding an East Coast conference of the SDS at Princeton University, 2/1-2/69
Memo 3/4/69 from G. C. Moore to W. C. Sullivan regarding the National Youth Alliance
Report 3/10/69 from Chicago regarding Chicago-area SDS branches
Memo 3/11/69 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding New Left and black extremist groups
Memo 3/11/69 from M. A. Jones to Mr. Bishop regarding the House Committee on Internal Security's plans to investigate SDS

Section 45 **Roll 4, 0821-0823**
March 1969
File section changed

Section 46 **Roll 4, 0824-0871**
March - April 1969
Memo 3/12/69 from the Director to Mr. J. Walter Yeagley, assistant attorney general, regarding New Left and black extremist groups
Memo 3/25/69 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding SDS National Council meeting at the University of Texas, Austin, 3/27-30/69
Memo 4/1/69 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan summarizing Austin, Texas, meeting
Teletype 4/10/69 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding possible SDS use of explosives to bomb historical sites
Teletype from Chicago to Director regarding Chicago rally co-sponsored by the Black Panther Party and SDS
Memo 4/18/69 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding Steven Michael Frank

Section 47 **Roll 4, 0872-1043**
April - May 1969
Teletype 4/21/69 from Chicago to Director regarding allegation of Baltimore and Ohio train derailment by SDS
Report 4/9/69 from SAC, Chicago to Director analyzing direction of SDS
Memo 4/22/69 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding funding of SDS
Report 4/3/69 from Chicago containing SDS-produced information regarding National Council meeting in Austin, Texas, 3/27-30/69
Memo 3/27/69 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding New Left movement funding
Memo 4/25/69 from Clyde Tolson to the Director regarding transcript of SDS conversation
Memo 4/23/69 from the Director to assistant directors regarding telephone call from President Nixon regarding campus riots
Teletype 5/12/69 from Chicago to Director regarding altercation at SDS headquarters

Section 48 **Roll 4, 1044-1125**
May 1969
Memo 5/15/69 from Director to the attorney general regarding the "Work-In Organizers Manual" distributed by SDS
Memo 5/5/69 from M. A. Jones to Mr. Bishop regarding the House Committee on Internal Security
Report 5/16/69 from Chicago regarding SDS Work-In Project
Memo 5/20/69 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding request to update characterization of SDS

Section 49 **Roll 4, 1126-1253**
May 1969
Report 5/8/69 from Chicago summarizing investigation

Section 50 **Roll 4, 1254-1467**
May - June 1969
Memo 5/21/69 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding the "Work-In Organizers Manual"
Memo 5/21/69 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding allegations by SDS member that the attorney general is planning national raid against New Left groups
Airtel 5/23/69 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding informant coverage of SDS
Memo 5/20/69 from T. E. Bishop to Mr. DeLoach regarding the furnishing of information about the SDS to "friendly" newspaper sources
Memo 5/14/69 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding the "Work-In Organizers Manual"
Memo 5/28/69 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding 1969 SDS national convention
Copy of the "Work-In Organizers Manual"
Airtel 5/29/69 from Director to SAC, Albany regarding coverage of 1969 SDS national convention
Memo 5/21/69 from J. P. Mohr to Mr. Tolson regarding conversation with Dr. Arthur F. Burns, counsellor to the president
Teletype 5/23/69 from Chicago to Director regarding anonymous tip alleging Black Panther/SDS plans to burn Army Induction Center
Memo 6/5/69 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding 29-page characterization of SDS to be sent to Vice President Agnew; characterization attached
Teletype 6/13/69 from Chicago to Director regarding 1969 SDS national convention, 6/18-23/69, in Chicago
Airtel 6/16/59 from Director to SACs regarding the Revolutionary Youth Movement and its plans to dominate the SDS convention

Section 51 **Roll 4, 1468-END Roll 4**

June - July 1969

Teletype 6/17/69 from Chicago to Director regarding agenda of 1969 SDS national convention

Various memos and teletypes regarding 1969 SDS national convention

Airtel 6/20/69 regarding article in 6/18/69 issue of *New Left Notes* entitled, "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows," detailing ideology of radical SDS faction led by Bernadine Dohrn

Memo 6/23/69 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan describing split between SDS National Office faction and Progressive Labor Party faction

Memo 6/17/69 from Andrew C. Tartaglino to Robert H. Haynes regarding SDS plans for a large demonstration in September at trial of Abbie Hoffman

Teletypes 6/18-23/69 from Chicago to Director reporting on events at the national convention

Teletype 6/20/69 from Chicago to Director regarding establishment of "The Conspiracy" national office

Memo 7/1/69 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan summarizing national convention

Section 52 **Roll 5, 0001-0240**

July 1969

Memo 7/3/69 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding plan to expose SDS Summer Work-In Project as Communist-inspired

Memo 7/1/69 from M. A. Jones to Mr. Bishop regarding SDS effort to penetrate high schools

Report 7/2/69 from Chicago describing SDS ideological position

Memo 7/10/69 from M. A. Jones to Mr. Bishop regarding alleged CIA memo sent to Mike Klonsky, SDS national secretary

Memo 7/10/69 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding split within SDS

SDS-produced articles

Memo 7/10/69 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding Internal Revenue Service (IRS) request for a list of financial contributors to SDS

Teletype 7/13/69 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding SDS delegation to North Vietnam for release of American prisoners of war

Teletype 6/23/69 from SAC, Chicago to Director naming SDS factional parties officers

Teletype 7/10/69 from Chicago to Director regarding delegation to North Vietnam

Memo 7/23/69 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan summarizing factional splits within SDS

Airtel 7/28/69 from Director to SAC, Chicago regarding Klonsky's resignation from SDS and his founding of the Chicago Revolutionary League

Memo 7/25/69 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding "Weatherman" faction headed by Bernadine Dohrn

Memo 5/8/69 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding summer work-in manual

Section 53 **Roll 5, 0241-0512**

June - August 1969

Teletype 6/25/69 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding the National Revolutionary Conference for a United Front against Fascism, 7/18-21/69, sponsored by the Black Panther Party

Airtel 7/10/69 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding SDS-sponsored travel to Cuba and the Venceremos Brigade

Airtel 7/28/69 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding initiation of a top-level informant program within both factions of SDS
Airtel 6/27/69 from SAC, Chicago to Director summarizing 1969 national convention
Memo 7/29/69 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding exposure of SDS "sabotage booklet" through "friendly news media contacts"
Teletype 8/6/69 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding possible intrafactional violence within SDS
Memo 8/7/69 from SAC, Chicago to Director analyzing SDS national convention
Report 8/8/69 from Chicago summarizing investigation

Section 54 **Roll 5, 0513-0591**
August 1969
Teletype 7/31/69 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding SDS announcement of new demonstrations
Teletype 8/8/69 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding SDS-Black Panther Party meeting, 8/15-17/69, at Woodstock, New York
Memo 8/6/69 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding status of the House Committee on Internal Security (HCIS) hearings concerning SDS
Memo 8/15/69 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding the Independent Socialist Clubs of America
Teletype 8/22/69 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding arrest of SDS leaders by the Chicago police department

Section 55 **Roll 5, 0592-0710**
August - September 1969
Airtel 7/24/69 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding SDS activity in Chicago-area high schools
Memo 9/15/69 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding revision of Bureau coverage of SDS
Teletype 9/22/69 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding proposed SDS-sponsored mass demonstration in Chicago, 10/8-11/69; includes SDS press release
Memo 9/23/69 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding factional struggle within SDS
Report 9/4/69 from Chicago summarizing SDS Midwest National Action Conference and National Interim Committee Meetings, 8/29-9/1/69

Section 56 **Roll 5, 0711-END Roll 5**
September - October 1969
Report 9/17/69 from Chicago summarizing investigation
Teletype 10/3/69 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding SDS-sponsored national action in Chicago, 10/8-11/69
Teletype 10/9/69 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding clearance of demonstrators from Lincoln Park by Chicago police
Report 10/3/69 from Chicago regarding demonstrations protesting the trials of individuals indicted for activities during the 1968 Democratic national convention in Chicago

Section 57 **Roll 6, 0007-0317**
October - November 1969
Airtel 10/22/69 from SAC, Chicago to Director reporting that the Weatherman faction of SDS is going underground
Memo 11/7/69 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding the Weatherbureau
Report 11/7/69 from Chicago summarizing investigation; includes reports on the national action in Chicago, 10/8-11/69

Report 10/14/69 from Chicago regarding demonstrations protesting the trials of those arrested during the 1968 Democratic national convention

Section 58 **Roll 6, 0318-0622**

November 1969

Report 10/24/69 from Chicago regarding demonstrations protesting the trials of those arrested during the 1968 Democratic national convention, 10/3-7/69

Teletype 11/5/69 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding SDS-planned demonstrations in Washington, 11/15/69

Teletype 11/16/69 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding alleged SDS-planned "action" at Rolling Stones concert in Chicago

Memo 11/13/69 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding planned demonstrations in Washington, 11/13-15/69

Memo 11/20/69 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan requesting investigations on all members of the Weatherman faction of SDS

Memo 11/20/69 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding Abby Rockefeller

Airtel 11/10/69 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding congressional investigations of revolutionary protest groups

Report 11/14/69 from Chicago summarizing investigation in the Chicago area

Report 11/7/69 from Chicago regarding demonstrations protesting the trials of those indicted for their activities during the 1968 Democratic national convention

Section 59 **Roll 6, 0623-0689**

December 1969

Memo 12/2/69 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan proposing updated characterization of SDS

Airtel 12/9/69 from Director to SAC, Albany requesting communications regarding SDS be identified by faction (Weatherman, Worker-Student Alliance, or Revolutionary Youth Movement)

Memo 12/16/69 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding national convention of the Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM) II in Atlanta

Memo 12/30/69 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding national council meeting of the Weatherman faction of SDS in Flint, Michigan, 12/27-31/69

Section 60 **Roll 6, 0690-0776**

January - March 1970

Airtel 1/14/70 from Director to SAC, Chicago requesting information on the RYM II faction of SDS

Memo 2/5/70 from Director, Naval Investigative Section, to Director, FBI, regarding possible sabotage activities

Memo 1/19/70 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan recommending fourth faction of SDS be termed "uncommitted chapters"

Memo 1/20/70 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding the Worker-Student Alliance

Memo 1/20/70 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding the Weatherman faction

Memo 2/2/70 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding "Your Manual," an SDS-sponsored publication

Copy of "Your Manual"

Airtel 3/12/70 from Director to all SACs regarding Bureau strategy for informant penetration of Weatherman faction

Memo 3/13/70 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding explosion in New York City that killed Weatherman activist Theodore Gold

Section 61 **Roll 6, 0777-0901**

March - April 1970

Teletype 3/19/70 from Director to SACs regarding recent sales of dynamite possibly related to Weatherman members

Memo 3/24/70 from the Director to the attorney general regarding possible Weatherman plans to bomb airliners

Memo 3/19/70 from Director to SAC, Albany regarding list of key Weatherman activists to receive intensive investigation

Memo 3/20/70 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding bombing in New York City, 3/6/70

Airtel 3/24/70 from Director to SACs regarding the New Left movement and the black nationalist movement

Memo 3/26/70 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding telephone call from John Dean, associate deputy attorney general

Report 2/10/70 from Boston regarding Mark William Rudd's speech at Becker Junior College, Worcester, Massachusetts, 1/27/70

Memo 4/3/70 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding possible violations of the 1940 Smith Act by the Weatherman faction

Airtel 4/9/70 from Director to SACs regarding inclusion of four Weatherman activists to the Key Activist list

Memo 4/10/70 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding organization of a three-man Weatherman squad

Memo 4/1/70 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding domestic intelligence conference

Memo 4/7/70 from M. A. Jones to Mr. Bishop regarding pending prosecutive action against the Weatherman faction

Memo 4/14/70 from W. C. Sullivan to C. D. DeLoach regarding Bureau conference on extremist terrorist activities and bombings

Section 62 **Roll 6, 0902-0988**

April - July 1970

Memo 5/7/70 from D. J. Brennan, Jr., to W. C. Sullivan regarding Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) temporary lookouts for Weatherman fugitives

Memo 5/25/70 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding "declaration of a state of war" by the Weatherman Underground against the United States

Section 63 **Roll 6, 0989-1108**

August - November 1970

Memo 8/19/70 from R. L. Shackelford to C. D. Brennan regarding a letter sent to Senator Clifford P. Case of New Jersey from an individual identifying himself as a Weatherman

Memo 8/25/70 from R. L. Shackelford to C. D. Brennan regarding possible Weatherman terrorist activities against the Bureau

Memo 9/2/70 from W. M. Felt to Mr. Tolson regarding use of student informants

Memo 9/22/70 from R. L. Shackelford to C. D. Brennan regarding letters from Bernadine Dohrn and Timothy Leary given to United Press International

Memo 9/8/70 from R. L. Shackelford to C. D. Brennan regarding establishment of a special single fingerprint file on Weatherman members and other New Left fugitives

Teletype from Director to SACs regarding alleged fall offensive of terrorism by the Weatherman Underground

Memo 10/7/70 from R. L. Shackelford to C. D. Brennan regarding press conference held at Youth International Party (YIP) headquarters in New York City, 10/6/70

Section 64 **Roll 6, 1109-1298**

October 1970 - October 1971

Memo 10/15/70 from T. E. Bishop to Mr. Sullivan regarding testimony to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on assaults on law enforcement officers

Memo 10/29/70 from the Executives Conference to Mr. Tolson regarding proposed intensification of certain investigations in the security field

Memo 11/5/70 from J. J. Casper to Mr. Mohr regarding dissemination of photographs of Weathermen to Bureau personnel and security personnel at federal buildings

Copy of composite memo to be distributed detailing wanted members of the Weatherman faction

Memo 11/20/70 from R. L. Shackelford to C. D. Brennan regarding recent developments in the WSA faction

Teletype 12/3/70 from Director to SACs regarding information about alleged insurrection in the San Francisco Bay area planned by the Weathermen

Memo 12/10/70 from R. L. Shackelford to C. D. Brennan regarding factional maneuvering within SDS/WSA and planned national convention in Chicago, 12/27-30/70

Memo 1/5/71 from R. L. Shackelford to C. D. Brennan regarding conciliatory statement made by Bernadine Dohrn

Memo 3/1/71 from W. C. Sullivan to Mr. Tolson regarding the deputy attorney general's conference, 3/1/71

Airtel 5/17/71 from SAC, Boston to Director regarding speeches made by Jerry Rubin and Linda Sue Evans at the University of Rhode Island, 5/12/71

Report 6/9/71 from Atlanta regarding the Revolutionary Youth Movement

Memo 6/11/71 from R. L. Shackelford to C. D. Brennan regarding the discovery of a cache of explosives in San Francisco allegedly stockpiled by Weatherman members

Memo 9/21/71 from Mr. Cotter to Mr. E. S. Miller regarding anitwar demonstrations planned for the fall of 1971

Memo 10/26/71 from W. V. Cleveland to Mr. Rosen regarding top ten and New Left fugitive investigations

Memo 10/29/71 from A. W. Gray to E. S. Miller regarding explosives and incendiary devices

Section 65 **Roll 6, 1299-1327**

October 1971 - January 1972

Report 1/4/72 from New York regarding the National Convention Against Racism, 3/30-4/1/72, at Cambridge, Massachusetts

Section 66 **Roll 6, 1328-1446**

February 1972 - August 1972

Teletype 3/15/72 from SAC, Boston to Director regarding the National Convention Against Racism

Memo 4/28/72 from T. J. Smith to E. S. Miller regarding demonstrations in Washington, DC, 4/29/72

Report 5/12/72 from Minneapolis regarding destruction of Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) buildings at the University of Minnesota, 4/18/72

Memo 6/15/72 from R. L. Shackelford to E. S. Miller regarding one-day conference on Weatherman underground terrorism at FBI headquarters, 6/20/72

Teletype 6/27/72 from Acting Director to SACs regarding planned Weatherman conference in Colorado

Airtel 6/21/72 from Acting Director to SACs regarding prosecution of violations of antiriot statutes during national political conventions

Section 67 **Roll 6, 1447-END Roll 6**

August 1972 - May 1973

Memo 9/14/72 from R. L. Shackelford to E. S. Miller regarding Weatherman revolutionary activities

Memo 9/26/72 from Mr. McGowan to Mr. Bates regarding demonstration sponsored by People's Coalition for Peace and Justice and SDS, 9/27/72
Teletype 10/5/72 from Acting Director to SACs regarding Henry Thomas Titus
Memo 12/7/72 from W. Mark Felt, acting associate director, to SACs regarding SDS/WSA plans to disrupt inauguration ceremonies
Teletype 12/1/72 from W. Mark Felt to SACs regarding Candace Kay Yockey
Memo 11/16/72 from R. L. Shackelford to E. S. Miller regarding latest efforts by the Department of Justice to indict Weatherman members
Memo 11/15/72 from Mr. T. J. Smith to E. S. Miller regarding planned protests for the inauguration ceremonies on 1/20/73
Memo 1/5/73 from R. L. Shackelford to E. S. Miller regarding column by Victor Riesel about revolutionary activities
Copy of statement prepared for Acting Director L. Patrick Gray in response to Riesel's column
Teletype 1/15/73 from Acting Director to U.S. Secret Service regarding protests during presidential inaugural ceremonies sponsored by SDS
Copies of SDS-produced pamphlets for inauguration protests
Airtel 2/6/73 from Acting Director to SACs regarding instructions for the location and apprehension of Weatherman fugitives
Airtel 4/17/73 from SAC, Portland to Acting Director regarding Thomas Stephen Trudell and Richard Blackburn
Memo 4/19/73 from R. L. Shackelford to E. S. Miller regarding instructions to field offices for reporting on SDS activities
Teletype 5/24/73 from Acting Director to SACs regarding planned demonstration against Acting Director William D. Ruckelshaus's speech at commencement exercises at Ohio State University, 6/8/73
Report 5/29/73 from New York regarding SDS Regional Anti-Racism Conference and May Day Demonstration, 4/28-29/73

Section 68 **Roll 7, 0007-0110**
May 1973 - January 1974
Report 5/18/73 from SAC, New York to Acting Director regarding the Worker's Action Movement (WAM) national convention, 4/28-29/73
Memo 6/11/73 from Acting Director to Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division, regarding *Joanne Kinoy, et al., v. John N. Mitchell, et al.*
Memo 12/6/73 from R. L. Shackelford to W. R. Wannall summarizing Weatherman terrorist activities
Memo 1/4/74 from R. L. Shackelford to W. R. Wannall regarding dismissal of indictment against Mark Rudd and others for violation of antiriot laws

Section 69 **Roll 7, 0111-0235**
January - December 1974
Report 1/29/74 from Milwaukee regarding the Revolutionary Youth Movement II
Memo 2/13/74 from R. R. Franck to Mr. Jenkins regarding HCIS
List of Weatherman members wanted as fugitives as of 2/15/74
Memo 9/7/74 from SAC, New York to Acting Director regarding the PLP
Memo 3/26/74 from Clarence M. Kelley, Director, to Director, Naval Intelligence Service, regarding possible compromise of classified information
Memo 5/31/74 from R. L. Shackelford to W. R. Wannall regarding bomb explosion at Old State Building in Los Angeles

Memo 6/21/74 from J. J. McDermott to Mr. Jenkins regarding the U.S. Revolutionary Army
Memo 8/13/74 from F. S. Putnam to W. R. Wannall presenting an overview of the twenty-six Weatherman bombings
Memo 8/29/74 from Clarence M. Kelley, Director, to Director, U.S. Secret Service, regarding *Prairie Fire*, a book prepared by the Weatherman Underground
Memo 10/31/74 from B. C. Rachner to H. A. Boynton, Jr., regarding attempts by the Weatherman Underground to establish a distribution committee for *Prairie Fire*
Report 12/10/74 from Chicago regarding the People's Law Office

Section 70 **Roll 7, 0236-0413**
January - September 1975
Memo 2/18/75 from R. L. Shackelford to W. R. Wannall regarding enclosed characterization of Weatherman members
Memo 3/13/75 from Director to Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division, regarding the National Lawyers Guild (NLG)
Memo 3/24/75 from R. L. Shackelford to W. R. Wannall regarding *Osawatomie*, a new Weatherman Underground-sponsored magazine
Copy of *Osawatomie*, Spring 1975
Copy of *Osawatomie*, Summer 1975
Memo 7/18/75 from R. L. Shackelford to W. R. Wannall regarding the results of informant coverage of Socialist/Feminist Conference, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 7/4-6/75
Copy of a 13-page statement, June 1975, by the Weather Underground Organization on armed struggle

Section 71 **Roll 7, 0414-0655**
October 1975 - July 1976
Airtel 10/7/75 from SAC, Portland to Director regarding booklet entitled, "Just a Few Questions," concerning federal grand juries; includes a copy
Memo 11/5/75 from Director to SACs regarding the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee (PFOC)
Memo 12/30/75 from R. L. Shackelford to W. R. Wannall regarding *Osawatomie*
Copy of *Osawatomie*, Winter 1975
Copy of booklet, "Politics in Command"
Teletype 3/31/76 from Director to SAC, New York regarding the film, *Underground*
Copy of *Osawatomie*, April-May 1976
Memo 5/7/76 from Director to the attorney general regarding *Underground*
Teletype 6/24/76 from SAC, El Paso to Director regarding alleged alliance of American Indian Movement, Brown Berets, and SDS to commit acts of terrorism
Report 6/8/76 from Chicago regarding WUO and PFOC investigations
Teletype 7/1/76 from Director to SACs requesting any information regarding foreign financial assistance to WUO

Section 72 **Roll 7, 0656-0875**
August 1976
Report 8/20/76 entitled "Foreign Influence–Weather Underground," Volume 1 (pp. 1-185)

Section 73 **Roll 7, 0876-1086**
August 1976
Report 8/20/76 entitled, "Foreign Influence–Weather Underground," Volume 2 (pp. 186-403); includes name index

Section 74 **Roll 7, 1087-1314**

August 1976

Memo 9/8/76 from D. Ryan to Mr. A. J. Decker, Jr., regarding decisions made by the Departmental Review Committee (DRC)

Memo 10/21/76 from D. Ryan to Mr. Decker regarding newspaper article alleging civil rights abuses by Bureau agents

Memo 12/10/76 from W. A. Meincke to Mr. Mintz regarding the subpoena of a Bureau agent to appear before a federal grand jury in New York investigating Bureau activities during Weatherman investigation

Memo 4/28/77 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding Weatherman members still at large

Memo 5/31/77 from Director to the attorney general regarding major penetration of Weatherman faction in Los Angeles

Memo 6/27/77 from S. S. Mignosa to Mr. D. W. Moore, Jr., regarding the surrender of Peter Wales Clapp in Chicago

Report 6/21/77 from Chicago summarizing investigation (175 pp.)

Section 75 **Roll 7, 1315-END Roll 7**

August 1977

Memo 8/9/77 from Director to the attorney general regarding undercover operations in Los Angeles

Letter 10/20/77 to Director regarding breach of security on "Foreign Influence" report in newspapers

Memo 10/20/77 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding Robert Henry Roth

Memo 11/29/77 from Director to the attorney general regarding infiltration of PFOC

Memo 4/20/78 from S. S. Mignosa to Mr. D. W. Moore, Jr., regarding remarks of New York Office Assistant Director J. Wallace LaPrade

Section: "June Mail" **Roll 8, 0006-0252**

June 1973

Memo 6/5/73 from R. L. Shackelford to Mr. E. S. Miller regarding requirements for approval of requests for telephone surveillance of radicals

Characterization 6/14/72 of Jennifer Ellen Dohm

Memo 5/20/71 from G. C. Moore to C. D. Brennan regarding electronic surveillance forms

Memo 4/9/70 from Director to the attorney summarizing Weatherman bombings

Memo 2/11/70 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding electronic surveillance of SDS

Memo 11/6/69 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding surveillance of SDS national and regional offices; summarizes relevant information gathered

Airtel 8/8/69 from SAC, Chicago to Director regarding security problems in installing microphone surveillance at SDS national office

Memo 5/13/69 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan regarding recommendation for telephone surveillance of the SDS national office

Memo 5/21/68 from Director to the attorney general requesting that electronic surveillance of SDS be made

Memo 2/13/68 from C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan recommending telephone surveillance of SDS national office

Memo 1/14/66 from F. J. Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan regarding technical surveillance of SDS headquarters

Section: **Roll 8, 0253-0458**
"Weatherman Underground Report"
August 1976
Report 8/20/76 entitled, "Foreign Influence–Weather Underground"

Section: **Roll 8, 0459-END**
"Weatherman Underground Report"
August 1976
Volume 2 of report 8/20/76 entitled, "Foreign Influence–Weather Underground"

4-694a (Rev. 12-4-86)

EXPLANATION OF EXEMPTIONS

SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552

(b) (1) (A) specifically authorized under criteria established by an Executive order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy and (B) are in fact properly classified pursuant to such Executive order;

(b) (2) related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency;

(b) (3) specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than section 552b of this title), provided that such statute (A) requires that the matters be withheld from the public in such a manner as to leave no discretion on the issue, or (B) establishes particular criteria for withholding or refers to particular types of matters to be withheld;

(b) (4) trade secrets and commercial or financial information obtained from a person and privileged or confidential;

(b) (5) inter-agency or intra-agency memorandums or letters which would not be available by law to a party other than an agency in litigation with the agency;

(b) (6) personnel and medical files and similar files the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy;

(b) (7) records or information compiled for law enforcement purposes, but only to the extent that the production of such law enforcement records or information (A) could reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings, (B) would deprive a person of a right to a fair trial or an impartial adjudication, (C) could reasonably be expected to constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy, (D) could reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of a confidential source, including a State, local, or foreign agency or authority or any private institution which furnished information on a confidential basis, and, in the case of a record or information compiled by a criminal law enforcement authority in the course of a criminal investigation, or by an agency conducting a lawful national security intelligence investigation, information furnished by a confidential source, (E) would disclose techniques and procedures for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions, or would disclose guidelines for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions if such disclosure could reasonably be expected to risk circumvention of the law, or (F) could reasonably be expected to endanger the life of physical safety of any individual;

(b) (8) contained in or related to examination, operating, or condition reports prepared by, on behalf of, or for the use of an agency responsible for the regulation or supervision of financial institutions; or

(b) (9) geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells.

SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552a

(d) (5) information compiled in reasonable anticipation of a civil action proceeding;

(j) (2) material reporting investigative efforts pertaining to the enforcement of criminal law including efforts to prevent, control, or reduce crime or apprehend criminals, except records of arrest;

(k) (1) information which is currently and properly classified pursuant to Executive Order 12356 in the interest of the national defense or foreign policy, for example, information involving intelligence sources or methods;

(k) (2) investigatory material compiled for law enforcement purposes, other than criminal, which did not result in loss of a right, benefit or privilege under Federal programs, or which would identify a source who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;

(k) (3) material maintained in connection with providing protective services to the President of the United States or any other individual pursuant to the authority of Title 18, United States Code, Section 3056;

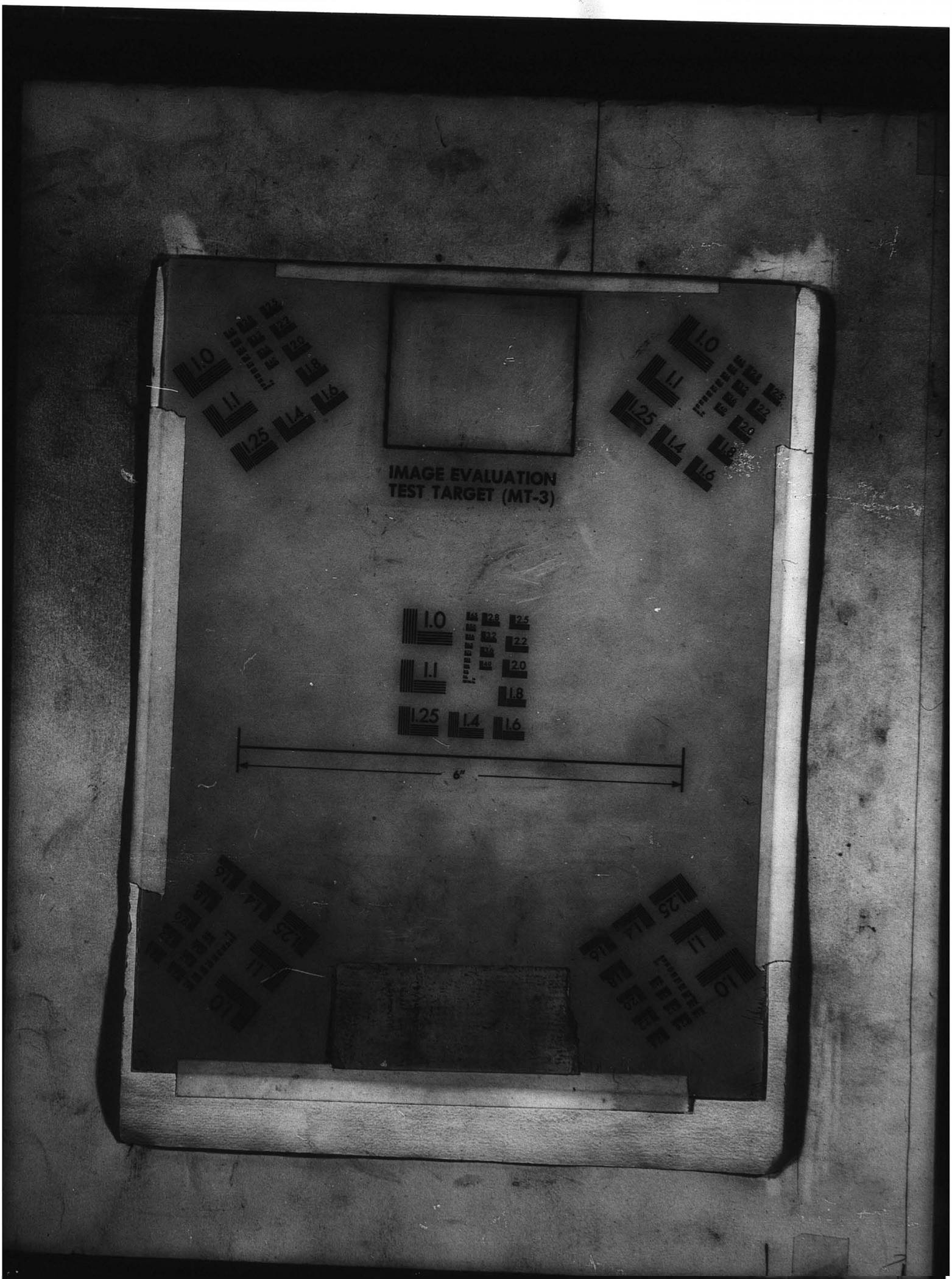
(k) (4) required by statute to be maintained and used solely as statistical records;

(k) (5) investigatory material compiled solely for the purpose of determining suitability eligibility, or qualifications for Federal civilian employment or for access to classified information, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his identity would be held in confidence;

(k) (6) testing or examination material used to determine individual qualifications for appointment or promotion in Federal Government service the release of which would compromise the testing or examination process;

(k) (7) material used to determine potential for promotion in the armed services, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished the material pursuant to a promise that his identity would be held in confidence.

You may submit an appeal from any denial contained herein by writing to the Assistant Attorney General, Office of Legal Policy (Attention: Office of Information and Privacy), United States Department of Justice, Washington, D. C. 20530, within thirty days from receipt of this letter. The envelope and the letter should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Appeal" or "Information Appeal."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